583 A young man may carry off a young girl (kwiba umugeni) in order to force the consent of her parents. But the young man's father subsequently gives a dowry.

588 There are ibyomanzi (vagrant women) who stay with a man for indefinite period of time according to the circumstances of their wandering lives (kubuyera or kohoha). The fate of these unions is obviously precarious. If, against all probability, their common life lasts for several years, the woman may introduce her concubinary to relatives [or parents]. If children are born, the man may be obliged to give a dowry. The marriage is then regularized.

583 It may also happen that two men, each with a sister whose dowry they may claim, will exchange wives: abageni b'ubuntu bunyuranye (lit., the betrothed as gifts).

In all these marriages the fate of the wife and children is the same as in the typical marriage. If the husband does not pay any dowry, the wife's father may take the children away and keep them as hostages until their father has fulfilled his obligations.

567 583 Formerly, children who were prisoners of war (abanyagano) married later, usually amongst themselves. The master could also give a captive girl in marriage to one of his clients. He collected the dowry but on the other hand, he had to pay a dowry for one of his slaves who wanted to marry a woman of the same region.

The slave, his wife, and their children continued to be part of the master's household. If one of these children wished to get married in his turn, his father would pay the dowry for his son or collect it for his daughter, and by that very act, his son or daughter was freed and became munyarwanda.

567 If the master married a slave woman, the children of this union would be of the same status as their [20] father, even if he already had other children with a munyarwanda woman.

2. Types of Marriage

595 Polyandry does not exist in Ruanda.

Polygamy (polygyny) is universal, except among the Christian natives, and particularly among the Bahutu, who have an average of two or three wives and sometimes even four or five.

The Batutsi most often have two wives. The great chiefs have, in addition to their wives, a certain number of insholeke (concubines).

[765] The mourning period for a mutwale lasts two to three weeks. However, the highest honors are paid to the dead king
766 (see p. 185 [not translated]). The corpse is first wrapped in
775 hides and barkcloth. It is not buried but dried over a smoking fire until it has become completely mummified. The first worm ("soul worm") that leaves the corpse is put into a milk pot and fed until one night it leaves the pot and turns into a giant snake (isato) in which the spirit (umusimu) of the dead
766 king will reside from then on. The corpse is not embalmed. The corpse of the king is not arranged in a crouched position as are those of the common Barundi; the arms and legs remain extended (No. 19, p. 204). In Ankole, however, the king's body is also put in a crouched position, wrapped in cowhide and buried (No. 27, p. 101). In Urundi the dead king is then put on a wooden trestle in the center of the homestead and left to lie in state until the feet of the trestle are eaten by termites. Under certain conditions this may take months. It is reported that King Kisabo lay in state in this way for an entire year. A local missionary told me that the deceased was
[588] even "married" to a young wife whose duty it was to take care of him and to provide him with food and pombe beer every day. During the entire period in which he lies in state the king's subjects gather from all corners of his realm; they pray to his spirit to win his favor, eat and drink in a festive funeral banquet beside his bier, and praise the deceased. Of course, the great ceremony of the "holy spear" is also performed. The
[765] official period of mourning for the king is one month. Finally, the mummy, accompanied by the medicine men and priests and followed by a wailing crowd of people, is carried away by the closest male relatives of the king. It is taken a distance of several days' journey to Ganso Mountain in the northwestern border mountains adjoining Ruanda, south of the source of the Ruvuvu River. The corpse is finally buried in a forest which may be entered only by the members of the royal family (Baganwa) and the priests. According to van der Burgt, however, it is not buried but simply laid to rest in a hut (see p. 186 [not translated]). The other Barundi kings have also been laid to rest there (No. 4, p. 223). On the other hand, van der Burgt writes

766 821 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possible, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

[152] Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman 588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief 766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered 821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage" (guchúra) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

766 821 [824 783] Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza, umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and avert any future consequences.

821 231 791 796 2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals, cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

769 similar to those used to conciliate men one deals with. The spirits are presented with pleasant offerings; they are fed; they are ingratiated in many ingenious ways.

In other words, they are regarded after death as human beings who have retained their faculties for enjoyment.

We have already seen that in order to gain their good graces one offers them libations, and sacrifices, and one beats the drums in order to remind them of their royalty and to prove to them at the same time that they are still regarded as kings. This is done not only on their tombs, in the important cemeteries, but also at the sites of their former favorite residences. This last procedure is believed to be more gratifying to them.

By reason of their fear and respect, the Banyarwanda usually avoid building too close to former capitals, and keep at a distance from them. In the Bwana-Mukali in the village of Lussagara, the inhabitants of the hill bury their dead far away in the forest so as not to defile the ground that was often trod by Lwogera and Lwabugiri.

Aside from these precautions and cares, the reigning princes have set up for each of their dead predecessors a true family home with wife and servants, including even the small traditional herd, in order to honor them and to obtain their protection.

It will be recalled that Chyilima-Rugwe is believed to have reigned only a short time. As a result, it is thought that he has retained an unpleasant memory of his stay on the throne.

Moreover, he refused to leave the country ((yanze kuva mu Ruanda) and continues to exist in the form of a leopard which is often seen, so the natives say.

In order to pacify /535/ his spirit, which is perennially dissatisfied (yarushije abandi gukaliha), a large hut has been erected for him at the very spot where he was buried. A keeper maintains it in good order and watches over the preservation of a herd of cows which is said to belong to Chyilima himself. A woman is in attendance on him.

From time to time, a young girl is appointed by the diviner-[588] sorcerers to be his new wife. The keeper substitutes for the dead king /in this connection/.

769 As a rule, the girls are sent back to their families after a short
588 stay in the hut of the spirit, but an appointed woman must always remain there. At Idjuru, about halfway along the road leading from the Kabgayi mission to Kigali, a clump of trees marks the site of the ancient residence of King Yuhi-Mazimpaka. Legend tells us that this place was the scene of a prodigious event following the death of the prince. He had barely been mummified and buried in the Rutare cemetery when the earth began to tremble at Idjuru. While a heavy rain poured down, the sound of clashing horns (amahembe arakomangana) was distinctly heard. Yuhi-Mazimpaka made it known thereby that he insisted on being cared for and on having his dwelling maintained. His wishes were fulfilled. In addition to a large hut, he was granted on the spot a small herd of cows called indoha because their lowing is harmonious. Furthermore, a woman lives there permanently for his pleasure, not to mention his temporary wives.

At the capital, inside the royal enclosure, there are numerous huts dedicated to the spirits of former kings. Although they are used for the various services entailed by the royal way of life, those huts are also consecrated to the memory of each of the deceased monarchs. The women who occupy them, while they are part of the harem, are also regarded as wives of the sovereigns whose huts they inhabit. As far as the lesser /536/ dead princes are concerned, it is considered sufficient to raise little girls at court who are occasionally made to enter the huts (indaro) dedicated to the spirits. The girls are sprinkled there with lustral water (ingwa, "chalky water"). Their royal (deceased) husbands are satisfied with this ceremony.

769 In the large hut consecrated to King Gihanga, a fire is main-
372 tained night and day, in a huge earthenware jug (intango), which is replaced when worn out.

King Gihanga, the alleged inventor or creator of fire, bequeathed it to his son Kanyarwanda. Fire is maintained in his hut in memory of this inestimable gift. Theoretically, no one but the king may take a brand from it to light his pipe. To allow this fire to go out or to be taken by unhallowed hands might have entailed death in the old days. A group of individuals chosen from the Abiru clan are in charge of watching this fire.

595 Extramarital Relations. Not all women who share a house-
567 hold with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom
848 he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines
588 and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are
[225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

588 The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is
567 even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

567 Just as a man can grant a cow to a client and also demand it
574 back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of
837 a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

574 In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives
837 of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

791 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming,
789 above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

[152] Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

787 Dreams and Soothsaying. In Ruanda various methods of soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its